

THE TRI-WEEKLY YEOMAN.

Bishop Hughes' Thunderbolt Against the Abolitionists.

Professor Brownson Rebuked—An Abolition Brigade Recommended.

[From the Metropolitan Record, the organ of Archbishop Hughes.]

The October number of Brownson's *Quarterly Review* has just made its appearance. In a literary point of view it is not inferior to preceding numbers of the same work, the fourth article is entitled:

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, PAR AUGUSTIN COCHIN, ANCIEN MAIRE ET CONSEILLER DE LA VILLE DE PARIS. PARIS: JACQUES LECOFFRE. 1861. 2 TOME, 8VO.

Under this caption the Reviewer writes a treatise on slavery and the war. We cannot help thinking that this paper, so far as it is intended to influence the Catholic readers of the *Review*, is at once untimely and mischievous. The Catholics of this country have obtained great credit for having entirely kept out of discussion on the question of slavery. Neither do they wish to have that question thrust upon them in a periodical which is supposed to be published in the interest of their religion.

Dr. Brownson maintains that the end and purpose of the war is not, or at least should not be, merely to sustain the Constitution, Government, and laws of the country, but to abolish slavery in the Southern States. Now, we Catholics, and a vast majority of our honest troops in the field, have not the slightest idea of carrying on a war that costs so much blood and treasure, just to gratify a clique of Abolitionists in the North. If we generally know that this is one of the purposes of the war, the drafting of troops would become immediately necessary—volunteers would be far indeed—and the business of recruiting would become easier than it is now said to be.

The war is, as we have said, for the maintenance and defense of our Constitution and Government. In the progress of war it is difficult to foresee what turn events may take in the South, under the pressure of military necessity; but to announce beforehand that one of its purposes is to destroy the slave in the Southern States, and, as a consequence, even arm them against the white population, is to vitiate in popular estimation the high motives by which the Government and the gallant officers in command of the army are actuated.

Napoleon III. announced that France made war on Italy for an "idea," but the idea was his own and not furnished by Abolitionism. Here, on the contrary, that clique who show the battle-field and become self-complacent in their fanaticism, under the impression that our brave soldiers are fighting their battle without being aware of it, are teaching with "ideas" which they expect the country to take up and realize, even by the sword.

True patriots will be shocked at the reviewer's interpretation of what the war means or should mean. They will ask, was it for this that our dauntless soldiers fell in battle? Was it for this that many of them, together with their brave officers, are now pining away in the captivity of a Southern dungeon? Take for instance, Col. Cameron and his gallant fellow-prisoners of the Sixty-ninth. Was it for this that Cameron fell on the battle-field, without any friendly eye to gaze on his countenance whilst he lay?

Like a warrior taking his rest, With his martial cloak around him?

Was it for this that the noble-hearted and gallant Ward was, as might say, assassinated on the deck of his vessel? Was it for this that the unyielding patriot and heroic commander of Fort Sumter, as well as the equal heroic Major at Fort Mifflin, no less than the brave Gen. Lyon, who fell on the field, were so cruelly neglected and left to their fate until reinforcements came too late? Was it to carry out the idea of Abolitionism that these noble warriors, and thousands of less distinguished names, have already given their lives, as they imagined, for the support of the Constitution and the preservation of the Union?

No, no. The crime charged against the authors of what is called the Southern Cause, is their wish and attempt to overthrow the Constitution and the Government of these United States. Now this crime had been attempted by the Abolitionists, and not in the cowardly bribery of the Southern Secessionists.

One of the Abolitionists, perhaps their oldest man, described the Constitution as a "covenant with hell." The Abolitionists would take advantage of double titles, and in order to be consistent, whilst they would have arms to destroy slavery in the South, they themselves sympathize with the people of the seceded States who are endeavoring to destroy this same "covenant with hell." We do not say that all the Abolitionists regard the Constitution in the same light as the author of the atrocious expression just quoted. But we have never seen that expression or its author repudiated in their speeches, writings, or resolutions.

Between the Secessionists of the South and the Abolitionists of the North, the Constitution is not only a matter of contention. The former attack it in the rear, or on the flank. The former wish to get clear of its requirements because they think it has not been fairly carried out in their regard, the latter because it is, as they say, a "covenant with hell." Still these Abolitionists profess to be loyal citizens, wishing to preserve the Union and sustain the Government, provided the latter shall abolish slavery totally throughout the land.

Every man has a right to form his own opinions on the existence of slavery, *pro or con*, as his judgment and conscience may dictate. But if any fellow-citizen of the North are so bent on the destruction of slavery, we would beg leave to suggest that they should form an Abolition Brigade, and do at least a part of the fighting for the advancement of their "idea." We could suggest even the name of the Brigadier-General who should be at the head of this Brigade. It is true that he has not acquired, as yet, the name of a great commander; he is not, however, unacquainted with the scenery of this battle; and though he may not have much to show, nevertheless, he must have seen at a distance the smoke arising from its explosion. His forte, however—and it is no trifling quality in a General—would be the science of retreat. By this Xenophon of old, with his 10,000, immortalized his name. The only apprehension to be entertained is, that even in retreat our modern Xenophon would leave his thousands behind. Still he could quote the example of one of the greatest Captains either of this century or any other, who retired with a very small retinue from Moscow, the ancient capital of Russia, leaving his magnificent army to follow at a remote distance on their return to Paris.

The Brigadier-General of the Abolition Brigade would pass, necessarily, through Washington, where the President and the members of the Cabinet would be likely to receive them in more than one sense. Supposing they got a pass to cross the Potomac and entered into the noted field, now occupied by our gallant troops, imagination can hardly conceive the reception that would await them. They would be men of rank, men of wealth, scholars, gentlemen, and, taking their position, if a position were permitted them, they would stand to the breeze and daunt before the eyes of both armies the motto to which we have referred. It can be so con-

veniently printed on the smallest banner, it is so expressive—so brief in words—so comprehensive in meaning, and withal so easily remembered:

THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE
UNITED STATES
IS A
COVENANT WITH HELL.

The Brigadier-General whom we have in our mind's eye is the same who published in this city that, after slavery shall have been disposed of in the South, "Popery must be looked into." He professes to be a loyal citizen, but this is a curious method of inducing other citizens who are truly loyal to rally to the support of the Constitution, the Government, and laws of our country.

Even our Catholic Dr. Brownson holds that slavery is the cause of the war. This happens to be simply impossible, except in the sense that a man's carrying money on his person is the cause of his being robbed on the highway. Slavery existed since the Declaration of Independence and before. And if it ever could have been the cause of civil war among the people and States of the Union, or of the Colonies that civil war should have broken out say eighty or one hundred years ago. Slavery, therefore, is not the cause of the war. There is nothing new in this.

Some times it has appeared to us that Abolitionism, if it be what it is described by some of its most prominent interpreters, stands in need of a straight jacket and the humane protection of a lunatic asylum. It would desire (to do the thing completely) that some 4,000,000 of slaves should be emancipated in one day, if possible, even in one hour. But it has never thought what is to become of these unfortunate people after their emancipation.

Slavery would not have a square inch on the surface of this globe that they could call their own. Where could they sleep the first night after their chains had been broken? Either on the land of their former owners, which would be a trespass, or on the highway, which public convenience could not tolerate. Where are they to go, gentlemen Abolitionists? Supposing they sleep some where the first night, where are they to get food for the next day? You would have destroyed the relation between them and their masters. And after having done this, what would you do? You could not expect their masters to still provide them with food, clothing, medicine, and medical attendance. Whose business will it be to see to all this?

Will it be yours simply to look on—rub your hands at the triumph of your inconsistent policy—and, having disrupted the whole social fabric in the Southern States, to leave the emancipated negroes and the white population to fight it out? Is this what you mean? Are you honest in your theories? It is, why not propose to the nation the setting apart of some portion of our vast unpopulated territory, say a patch of land as large as England, to be settled by these emancipated slaves, if emancipation were possible? Why not put your hand in your pockets and invite your neighbor to do the same for the erection of huts, or the procurement of even a few rude agricultural implements for the maintenance of these four millions of abolitionized negroes, at least during the first year, for the procuring of seeds of various kinds, agricultural and horticultural, to be planted and cultivated by their own hands in view of the second year, when they should have to depend in a great measure upon themselves?

But we have seen another part of your scheme, which is, that the negroes, once emancipated, might disperse themselves throughout the free States, and especially in the North. Well, you have had them in the North, and there are some still remaining, but they are becoming few in numbers, and dwindling down after the style of the Indians. How do you treat these that you have? Are their feelings not outraged on every corner of our streets? Are they not called "black niggers," with a tacit approval even of those who may have had a hand in their running away? Even in this great city of New York, though their money is just the same as that which white people use, they cannot be admitted into an omnibus or a railroad car occupied by white people without being reminded by a printed sign that it is a privilege and not a right. Are these the tactics which you favor to hasten the life rate of the negro population of the South? What else? In the South free blacks are sometimes the keepers of respectable hotels, and wealthy planters choose to patronize them. In the North, if a black man were rich enough to purchase the Astor House he would have no white guests. All these things should have been foreseen and looked to by philanthropists before attempting to inaugurate a second massacre like that of Saint Domingo. Now, before concluding, one general word about slavery. We know from ancient history that Abraham possessed slaves; that Job in his plianthimood, died before the Almighty his kindness to his slaves; that Moses did not strike at the root of slavery, but only mitigated the hardships to which the bond-man was otherwise subjected; that our Divine Saviour did not teach or prescribe any law in reference to that special topic; that the Church, in the exercise of her influence, employed only religious and moral suasion to remove the dangers which surrounded both the masters and the slaves in their mutual relations to each other. Now, not to speak of our legislators, the Catholics of this country, and perhaps the Catholics of Christendom at large, having made it a rule to imitate the example of our Lord, and to avoid—except in the way of the Church, as above referred to—all interference with slavery where it is once established and constitutes an element in social and civil life. For this the Catholics have been praised, and no article in Dr. Brownson's *Quarterly Review* can induce them to forsake the wise and good old paths of their Divine Masters and of their Church.

The author whose works the writer in Brownson's *Review* professes to criticize—Augustin Cochon, knows nothing of what slavery is in the United States. No European, unless he shall have lived a long time in this country, is qualified to write on this subject as it is known here. There is no analogy between the slavery known among pagan nations, whether of Greece or Rome, and that which is recognized in our Southern States. In the former cases the slaves were, if not altogether, at least generally of the Caucasian race. They were often times the countrymen of their masters, speaking the same language, and not unfrequently by far the superior of their masters in education and refinement of manner. For them the transition from bondage to freedom, under the auspices of the Church, was an easy and almost imperceptible transition.

Slavery is derivable from the earliest annals of the human race. The first necessity of a man, not being himself the head of a powerful family, was to cling for protection to some such head. He became a slave voluntarily, but on condition that he should be protected; for if he strayed from the family, he became immediately an outcast and a foreigner, and liable to be seized and brought into servitude by those who chose to take advantage of his unprotected condition. As time went on families, especially under the Mosiac dispensation, were aggregated into communities, civil rights became recognized, and the whole social system, including the rights of slaves and masters, was surrounded and protected by laws, human we should call them, but in the case of the Jewish people, laws of Divine origin. Nations must always precede legislation; and the law of nations could be nothing more, at any given time,

than either a mutual agreement among themselves or the usages prevailing previous to any recorded understanding among them. Now, down to a recent period, the law of conquest in war gave to the victor the right of life and death in reference to his captive. In modern times the progress of civilization has mitigated; even in this, the stern rule. Civilized nations no longer turn their prisoners into slaves.

We wish to remark, however, that there is no analogy between ancient slavery and that which prevails in this country. When the Spaniards obtained a footing in South America they began by buying whole nations of living Indians in the deep caverns of their gold and silver mines to dig out for them the precious metals there hidden. Their bishops, remonstrated—they appealed to the Pope—the practice was condemned and anathematized—because the Indians were naturally free men, and it was a crime against the Lord and His Christ for avarice to bring them down into the bondage of slavery. Then attention was drawn to the condition of the negroes in southwestern Africa as likely to supply the want of labor that was experienced in the mines. The Holy See never approved either of this or the other system. But the Holy See has only a voice, and no armies to regulate the inter-penetration of justice and injustice, even among Catholic nations, round the globe. The African slave trade commenced, and the existence of slaves in the Southern States is its actual consequence. We can go so far as to agree with an eminent Catholic jurist and lawyer, in saying that slavery is a Divine institution. The rest of his eloquent dissertation on that subject is far from being out of harmony with the principles of the Catholic Church. It is at least a divine permission of God's providence. And now let us look at the matter from beginning to end.

Africa, it is well known, is a country of savages, not having the slightest gleam of hope as to a prospective civilization. We may say that, in all the southwestern section of Africa, there is no such thing known as the idea of a natural freedom. The tribes in the interior are in perpetual war, and the laws of the country are such that the prisoner may be executed on the spot or sold as a slave. It is but lately that the savage called King Dahomey immolated 2,000, some say 5,000, of his prisoners, or subjects, to crimson with their blood the grave of his equally savage father. This was according to what, in the barbarian spirit of that country, was called "the great custom." Now, if our philanthropist of the Abolition school would pay the slightest attention to the instincts and hopes of human nature, whether in Africa or elsewhere, they would easily comprehend that these two or five thousand victims would prefer slavery to decapitation. They might understand from what goes on here continually—viz: that a poor prisoner who is condemned to death by the laws of his country, chooses invariably, if mercy should interpose, the penitentiary for life in preference to the honp of the gallows. This to human nature, of which our Abolitionists do not appear to have any adequate conception.

Now, suppose that the savage King of Dahomey sent his subjects or prisoners, to come to the factories on the coast and sell them as slaves, would he be more guilty than if he had cut their heads off? Suppose the slaves at the dock should buy them off at \$25 a head from the massacre of their barbarous tyrant, would they be doing wrong? They would only have to choose between leaving those wretches to be butchered or transporting them to some of the slave colonies of America. We, of course, believe that no genuine Christian—no decent man—would be engaged in this kind of business, still we cannot discover the crime even of the slave, in catching them from the butcheries prepared for them in their native land. When they arrive in these colonies, would it be a crime for humane masters to purchase them at a sum which prospectively might cover the annual or semi-annual wages given to laborers in other parts of the world? These purchases should be bound, and if they are not of conscience they would be bound, to take care of these unfortunate people. Under the circumstances, it is very difficult to discover the crime of any man, or nation, in catching them from the butcheries prepared for them in their native land. When they arrive in these colonies, would it be a crime for humane masters to purchase them at a sum which prospectively might cover the annual or semi-annual wages given to laborers in other parts of the world? These purchases should be bound, and if they are not of conscience they would be bound, to take care of these unfortunate people. Under the circumstances, it is very difficult to discover the crime of any man, or nation, in catching them from the butcheries prepared for them in their native land. 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